

P. Funke, M. Haake (eds.), *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration. Proceedings of an International Conference of the Cluster of Excellence "Religion and Politics" held in Münster, 17.06.–19.06.2010*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013, pp. 244, 6 b/w ill., ISBN 978-3-515-10307-7

This multilingual collection of articles, edited by Peter Funke and Matthias Haake and published in 2013 by Franz Steiner Verlag, is the result of an academic conference which took place in Münster in June 2010. The main theme of the studies is the function and presence of sanctuaries in the process of formation of a sense of identity and affiliation to structures larger than single *poleis*.

The articles take the form of case studies. Peter Funke (*Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration. Some Introductory Remarks*, pp. 9–12) rightly note that in order to examine the mutual relations of politics and religion it is not sufficient merely to mention the cases of this type of connection – they must also each be described in detail separately. This was the task undertaken by the authors of the individual articles. However, readers are left to draw their own conclusions after reading them, as no conclusion is provided in the book.

The interest in this issue is fully justified, as research on the role of sanctuaries in the formation of identity going beyond the framework of the individual *polis* is still in the early stages. Although an array of studies have been published on various federations in the Greek world, scholars have previously paid little attention to the religious questions associated with their functioning, instead concentrating mostly on political matters.

As a result, the common starting point for all the articles in the book is important for all readers interested in the political history of the Greek world, in a large part of which we can learn about how sanctuaries operated and what their significance was. In geographical terms, the texts concern the area from Magna Graecia to the islands of the Aegean Sea.¹ They examine cases of the majority of federal states in various historical

¹ P. Funke, *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration. Some Introductory Remarks*, pp. 9–12; A. Rizakis, *États fédéraux et sanctuaires: Zeus Homarios et la construction de l'identité achéenne*, pp. 13–47; P. Funke, *Thermika und Panaitolika. Alte und neue Zentren im Aitolischen Bund*, pp. 49–64; K. Freitag, *Die Akarnanen: Ein Ethnos ohne religiöses Zentrum und gemeinsame Feste?*, pp. 65–83; A. Ganter, *A Two Sided Story of Integration: The Cultic Dimension of Boiotian Ethnogenesis*, pp. 85–106; J. Roy, *Olympia, Identity and Integration: Elis, Eleia, and Hellas*, pp. 107–121; M.P. Fronda, *Southern Italy: Sanctuary, Panegyris and Italiote Identity*, pp. 123–138; G. Daverio Rocchi, *Ethnic Identity, Cults and Territorial Settlement: East and West Locrians*, pp. 139–161; M. Hatzopoulos, *Was Dion Macedonia's Reli-*

periods. The various cults experienced ups and downs, while their sphere of influence and function also changed. In many cases, they existed long before the foundation of the federal states, contributing to the formation of the notion of a specific territory among the population sustaining the places of cult. This notion played an important role in the later process by which more complex political structures developed around these sanctuaries.

The first example of such a cult to be discussed is that of Zeus *Homarios* in the Achaean League and the role of its sanctuary in Aigion. As Athanasios Rizakis (*États fédéraux et sanctuaires: Zeus Homarios et la construction de l'identité achéenne*, pp. 13–48) notes, more than one cult could compete for the dominant position in the region. Initially, the sanctuary of Poseidon in Helike played an important role. In spite of this, before the destruction of this city in 373 BCE, the role of the cult of Zeus grew steadily. The decisive factor in this phenomenon was the role of this deity as a protector of places where meetings of a political nature took place (not only between the citizens of an individual *polis*) and guarantor of the agreements made there. Similar were the related cults of Athena *Homaria*, Demeter *Panachaia* from Aigion and Athena *Panachaia* from Patras. It was not just the particular characteristics of the cult of Zeus *Homarios* that led it to gain greater popularity. Also significant was the central geographical location of Aigion in Achaea, where it was the main port. The city's historical importance, resulting partly from its links with the House of Atreus, was another factor. The religious and political spheres therefore overlapped. This meant that, in the changing political realities, the ancient Greeks were able to make use of traditional forms of co-existence of citizens and non-citizens of a *polis*, basing them on the foundation of common beliefs and cult ceremonies.

The process described above took place over centuries. The cults of the cities from which colonists came were moved to newly established colonies, as the case of Achaean colonies in Magna Graecia showed. One of the articles is about the connection between those cities linked not just by common origin, but also a common cult, under the aegis of which meetings of members took place (M. Fronda, *Southern Italy: Sanctuary, Panegyris and Italiote Identity*, pp. 123–138). Along with the political changes within the federation, meaning cities without Achaean origin joining, the cult of Zeus *Homarios* was replaced by that of Hera *Lakinia*. This resulted in the decision for meetings of the members of the federal state of the Italiotes to take place in a new location. A similar situation arose in the last phase of its history, when Tarentum attained great importance. Owing to its strong position, the centre of federation assemblies was transferred to Heraclea, a city in Tarentum's sphere of influence. However, the history of this region demonstrates that the existence of this type of common places of cult and meetings did not translate into continuous and harmonious cooperation among all the federation's members.

There is no need to summarise the book's remaining articles. What makes them undeniably valuable is the fact that they concern areas of the Greek world in which various

gious Centre?, pp. 163–171; K. Buraselis, *Confederacies, Royal Policies and Sanctuaries in the Hellenistic Aegean: the Cases of Nesiotai, Lesbioi and Kretaieis*, pp. 173–183; J. McNerney, *Making Phokian Space: Sanctuary and Community in the Definition of Phokis*, pp. 185–203; R. Bouchon, B. Helly, *Construire et reconstruire l'État fédéral thessalien (époque classique, époque hellénistique et romaine). Cultes et sanctuaires des Thessaliens*, pp. 205–226; Th. Heine Nielsen, *Can 'Federal Sanctuaries' be Identified in Triphylia and Arkadia?*, pp. 227–244.

forms of power were in operation. As the cited examples show, their existence was no obstacle in the development of close relations between centres of power and religious centres, although these had a somewhat different form from the Achaean cult discussed earlier (cf. M. Hatzopoulos, *Was Dion Macedonia's Religious Centre?*, pp. 163–171). Since the book guides us through centuries, right up to the time of the Hellenistic monarchies, we can trace the changing role of sanctuaries over time. To depict this, the authors often make use of numismatic and epigraphic sources. The sound basis of source material and results of previous research mean that their analyses offer many new conclusions, e.g. pointing to certain characteristics of common phenomena accompanying the formation of a sense of identity among ancient peoples.

Although various known sanctuaries have long existed in Greek reality, only relatively recently has increased attention been paid to their role in formation of political communities. Studies on this issue offer a different angle on the political history of ancient Greece. One might expect that our understanding of this field will continue to expand in future, since scholars have only just begun to discuss the subject of the role of sanctuaries in the Greek world.

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